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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 332

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## PARTY AND STATE

### POLICY OF EASING INTELLECTUALS' DIFFICULTIES URGED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jun 82 p 1

[Article: "Implement the Policy in Intellectuals, We Cannot Merely Go Through the Motions--Provincial CCP Committee Secretary Wang De [3769 1795] Pointed Out That We Must Further Eliminate the Ideological Influence of the 'Left,' Overcome Various Historical Biases and Solve the Inherited Problems Surrounding Implementation of Policies"]

[Text] According to indications from the Central Committee of the party, the work of checking on intellectuals is already fully underway in our province. Numerous prefectures and units are solving problems while doing the checking, and have achieved initial results. But, there are some prefectures and units where they are dealing only with forms and merely going through the motions. Recently, the Provincial Work Group for Checking on Intellectuals convened a report-back meeting and requested that every area engage seriously in this work.

Judging from the reports from every municipality, every department committee and consultative unit under provincial direction and every institution of higher learning in the Guangzhou area, since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, our province has done a tremendous amount of work in implementing intellectual policy, such as redressing cases of injustice, sorting out file materials, returning professionals to the ranks, giving titular promotions, giving job promotions and improving conditions in work and life, and has achieved obvious results. But, there remain many problems. Because of the ideological influence of the "Left," there still occur bad instances of discrimination against, and even exclusion of, intellectuals on the part of the leadership in some prefectures and units. Many matters facing some older, upper level intellectuals, such as providing them with assistants, getting them books and reference materials, supplying them with equipment, and problems in the areas of medical treatment, supply and communications have yet to be satisfactorily worked out; and especially the striking problems of deficient work conditions of the middle-aged core of professional workers, their low standards of living, and their small and uncomfortable housing have not been given enough attention. Many people "with the title of lecturer, do the work of a professor and receive the wages of a teaching assistant." Because their burdens are heavy and their compensation is small, their health gets progressively worse.

The work of checking has proceeded in a very unbalanced manner. Most areas have adopted a relatively serious attitude and established special agencies. On some battlefronts and in some localities and counties, they even printed survey forms and allowed upper and middle level intellectuals to list the problems they have had in implementing policies, in work and in life. Many prefectures and units have carried out actively the principle of "solving problems while doing their checking," have begun to solve certain actual problems and have had excellent results. But, because there exist a fairly large number of problems which, in conjunction with the fact that the leadership of certain prefectures and units do not place great emphasis on this work and so do not make a special effort and do not give prominence to the focus of the inspection work, the work is not moving along well. Some units even go so far as to write inspection reports hurriedly without having checked matters clearly, purely in order to meet the requirement of reporting on completed work. There exists, in these prefectures and units, the danger of merely going through the motions.

Wang De [3769 1795], the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee secretary, took part in the report-back meeting and made a speech. He said that if we want to get through this work of checking on intellectuals and solve certain problems earnestly, then the key is for leadership at every level to further eliminate the ideological influence of the "Left," raising their consciousness, correcting their attitudes and overcoming various historical biases. We must truly consider intellectuals to be a part of us, relying on them, trusting them, and seriously solving the inherited problems of implementing intellectual policy. We must make every effort to solve the various difficulties that exist in their work and in their lives. All prefectures and units that are working only on form and are merely going through the motions must start from the beginning and, with the goal of solving actual problems, solidly go about the work of checking on intellectuals. We should not be hasty about disbanding inspection agencies at every level, and we must do thorough work even when we lack the strength. The problems faced by the subjects of the checking must be understood clearly, one matter at a time and one person at a time, and handled in order of their importance while singling out special matters, making plans, suggesting measures and assigning units and individuals to solve the problems within set time limits. If a unit truly cannot solve a problem, it must accurately write a report and explain its work in the manner of seeking the truth from facts.

Comrade Wang De emphasized that the focal point of this work of checking on the intellectuals is the problem of the upper and middle level intellectuals, especially those of the middle-aged core of professionals. They are in the position of linking the past and the future, having born the heaviest burdens, having achieved the greatest results and having been saddled with the most striking difficulties in their work and in their lives. The leadership at every level must do all it can to care for them, reducing their fear of troubles overtaking them.

## PARTY AND STATE

### ARTICLE SUGGESTS WAYS TO REDUCE 'GENERATION GAP'

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jul 82 p 8

[Article by Shi Qiao (0670 5606): "An Analysis of the 'Generation Gap'"]

[Text] A new term, "generation gap," is now often heard among young people. This indicates an unbridgeable gap between the older generation and the new generation.

A phenomenon of the following kind definitely exists in actual life: There are some young people who shake their heads at the ideas, feelings, qualities and interests of the elder generation, considering them to be "behind the time, ridiculous and not keeping up with the times." There are some among the older generation who sigh deeply at the ideas, feelings, qualities and likes of the young people, feeling that "one generation is not as good as another." For this reason, it is inevitable that there will be people who will sigh with emotion and say: The chasm between the older generation and the new generation will always exist and is unbridgeable.

Is this truly the case? In our new society is it ordained that this will be the case between the revolutionary older generation and the new generation? This is indeed a question deserving of deep thought.

It must be acknowledged that the experiences of the new and old generations are different. Members of the older generation over 60 years of age have generally gone through a long period of revolutionary struggle in which they experienced suffering and hardship. In hardship and distress, they engaged in a selfless struggle to create a new China out of the ashes of the old China. Thus, it is very natural that they should have the feelings of steadfast persons of lofty ideals who care concerned for their country and people. The new generation under 30 years of age is very different from this. They all were born and grew up in the new China and what they have seen for the most part are the accomplishments of the new society and the setbacks that it has suffered. Thus, it is perfectly understandable that they have the characteristics of being persons who have a high degree of enthusiasm and of being hard-thinking probers into things.

The different experiences of the new and old generations will be reflected in their ideas, feelings, qualities and likes. Moreover, most people older in years have a rich store of experience, are comparatively stable and seasoned and work steadily

making solid progress. Young people are generally full of vigor and vitality and like newborn calves dare to think and act and are courageous in making innovations. These differences cannot be considered unusual.

Even so, in our new society, there are many points of similarity between the revolutionary older generation and the new generation. We live together in a socialist society that, although not yet perfect, has been established. We have the common ideal of realizing the great ideal of mankind -- a communist society. We have a common desire to improve the material civilization and the spiritual civilization of one billion people. We have a common belief in truth overcoming falseness, goodness overcoming evil and beauty overcoming ugliness and we have the common goal of building a strong, modernized socialist nation..... . These points in common are the basic characteristics of our present older and new generations and also have an objective existence. We cannot allow this to be denied and there is no way that it can be denied.

Thus, in our new society, there are dissimilarities and differences between the revolutionary older generation and the new generation. However, there is certainly not an essential, permanent and unbridgeable chasm between them. The members of our revolutionary younger and older generations are like relay race runners holding high their torches as they race along the course of human evolution. The road that the older generation took was more rugged, more precipitous and more dangerous, whereas the road that the younger generation is taking is broader, more remote and more tortuous. However, the torch that they hold on high is the same and the direction they are running in is the same. The torch is being passed from generation to generation with no chasm between them. Each generation has its strong points. All they have to do is learn from each other, adopting the good points and making up for shortcomings. The older people should not take advantage of their seniority and should support the feelings of the those born after them. The young people should not blindly assume self-importance and should respect the spirit of their elders in liking to study. In this way, a greater feeling of sympathy can be built up between the young and the old and they can advance together just as the rear waves of the Yangtze River push the front waves on.

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CSO: 4005/1051



## PARTY AND STATE

### FAILURE TO UPHOLD PARTY POLICY TOWARD INTELLECTUALS BLAMED FOR BRUTAL BEATING

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jul 82 p 4

[Article: "Protect the High Social Position of Teachers"]

[Text] Three women teachers in Huairou County of Beijing were for no reason surrounded and subjected to savage beatings. We express our deep sympathy to our teacher comrades who were injured and express our indignation and concern concerning the illegal behavior of Wang Xingkuan and the others.

Respect for teachers is one of our national traditions. Our Party has always advocated giving the people's teachers who are engaged in the noble calling of cultivating and teaching others their due honor and social position. However, why do incidents of this sort of insulting and beating up teachers occur continually in a number of places and even in the capital? People say that this is a deleterious effect brought about by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" having destroyed education and having attacked the intellectuals. This kind of analysis is not sufficient to explain the actual cause. The problem lies in the fact there are teachers in some places who are still in the abnormal position of not being accorded the respect that is due them and of not receiving conscientious protection even though the ten-year period of disorder has been over for five years and the period in which the intellectuals were falsely accused of being "rotten old nines" is gone and will not return. The cause of this is one that we must search for in practice and in work. A great deal of practice demonstrates that the basic cause in places in which this type of situation has occurred, in addition to teaching work not being respected, was that the policy toward intellectuals was not being genuinely implemented.

The Party policy toward intellectuals, including the people's teachers, is a comprehensive system including a high degree of political trust, giving them a free hand in their work, giving them suitable allowances for their livelihood and protection and one of their rights. If in any place someone is still being discriminated against politically, is still being looked down on because of his work, is still being neglected in terms of livelihood and is still being treated with indifference in respect to his rights, how can we say that the policy toward intellectuals has been implemented in that place? It is not by chance that an incident such as the beating of teachers occurs in such a place.

In implementing the Party policy toward intellectuals, we must rely on Party and government leadership departments in each region to solve problems one by one and to deal with each matter one by one. As the result of the disclosure of the teacher beatings in Huairou County, will Party committees in other regions in which similar incidents are still occurring be able to link this with their own circumstances and strike at and manage these matters in a realistic way in terms of systems and policies? If policy is carried out well and cadres at all levels take the lead in implementing it, the broad masses will comply with it. We believe that the prevailing custom of respecting teachers can be greatly developed in our country.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### MINORITY NATIONALITIES RECEIVE THEORETICAL, POLITICAL, AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Jul 82 p 1

[Article: "Xinjiang Trains Large Group of Cadres Among Minority Nationalities -- More Than 16,000 Cadres From Among the Nationalities Were Released From Production To Study Theory, Politics and Vocational Specialties:]

[Text] The Party committees and Party organizations at all levels in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region are doing a conscientious job of training cadres from among the minority nationalities. As the result of releasing large numbers of cadres from our brother nationalities from production for study, they have raised their level of theory and politics and their capacity for professional work to varying degrees.

With the implementation over the past 2 years of the Party's policy of autonomy for the nationality regions, more and more minority nationality cadres in Xinjiang have assumed the responsibilities of important leadership work on various fronts. Under these new circumstances, the Party committees and Party organizations at various levels in the autonomous region have trained cadres at all levels on a planned way, and, at the same time, they have intensified training of cadres from among the minority nationalities. According to statistics, last year alone more than 16,000 minority nationality cadres (including the Han nationality) in the region as a whole were sent to central and autonomous region party schools and to institutions of higher learning, being released from production to study theory, politics and various specialized cadre training courses.

In order to see to it that cadre training work could be done on a regularized, day-to-day and systematized basis, the Party committee of the autonomous region in 1980 convened a Party school work conference for the entire region at which studies were made of strengthening cadres at all levels and particularly of educating and training minority nationality cadres. In May of last year, the Party committee of the autonomous region again formulated the cadre training program for the entire region for 1981 to 1985. Under the guidance of the Party committee of the autonomous region, Party organizations at all levels individually formulated concrete programs and measures of the training of minority nationality cadres in their own regions, their own units and their own departments.

The Party Committee of the autonomous region and Party organizations at all levels also intensified establishment of Party schools, cadre schools and a corps of minority nationality teachers of theory. At present, 97 Party schools in the region as a whole have been renovated and expanded with the result that there are 125,000 square meters of school buildings that can accommodate more than 6200 students who live at the schools for study.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### MEASURES SUGGESTED TO IMPROVE PARTY WORKSTYLE IN LIAONING

#### Shenyang Review of Discipline

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jun 82 p 1

[Text] Beginning this June, in agencies under municipal control and in the county area, the city of Shenyang has been carrying out a large-scale review of party character, style and discipline in a continuing effort to solve the problems of impure ideology, incorrect party style and muddled economics in leadership circles and of confused unit organization. This was brought out by the leading comrade of the Shenyang Municipal CCP Committee when announcing plans recently at the conference of leading party cadres throughout the city and county levels and at or above the regimental level.

The Shenyang Municipal CCP Committee decided that this large-scale review of party character, style and discipline would focus on self-examination, to be supplemented with spot checks. The primary elements of the review are: (1) Has awareness in leadership circles of the tremendous significance of correcting party style and attacking serious criminal activities in the economic realm been increased and have actions taken along these lines been clearly effective? (2) Have the ideological and workstyle problems in leadership circles regarding weakness and disorganization; lack of unity; lack of spirit; isolation from the masses and bureaucratism; violation of regulations by making arrangements for relatives to work, study or enter the army, to shift from agricultural to nonagricultural work, to move from the countryside to the city, to change from a collective to a state-run enterprise, or to change from being a worker to a cadre; problems of occupying more housing than warranted; of taking over state funds or property; of building on farmland; and of obtaining merchandise through the back door, as well as other problems of muddled economics and confused organization, been reviewed and corrected? (3) Have feasible reform measures been established to deal with the problems that exist in leadership circles and among the primary members of leadership circles? (4) Has rectification undertaken in these circles forcefully promoted the struggle to combat corruption and attack economic crimes and has it hastened new developments in the construction of the "two civilizations?"

At the recently convened Fuxun conference held to review party style and discipline and to exchange experiences, the leading comrades of the Fuxun

Municipal CCP Committee emphasized grasping the rectification work involved in the large-scale review of party style and discipline and requested that we basically finish solving the exposed problems of incorrect tendencies prior to "seven one" [the 1 July anniversary of the founding of the CCP]; units which have not carried out a review of party style and discipline must do so--they cannot merely drag their tails past the square. If party style throughout the city is not as it should be, it is the responsibility of the municipal CCP committee. If the party style of a particular unit is not appropriate, then it is the responsibility of both the party committee of that unit and its primary leadership and of the leadership of the party committee at the level immediately above. Responsibility must be assigned for problems that occur in production; problems of party style should be viewed as political errors and responsibility should also be assigned for them. These matters cannot be handled carelessly.

In the process of solving problems, the municipal CCP committee should pay special attention to the following: (1) There must be individual investigation of those who followed the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques and gained a reputation for "rebellious"; those who have severe factional attitudes; elements who took part in beating, smashing and looting; and those who have persistently resisted and opposed the line, principles and policies of the party since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, who, politically, have seriously sabotaged the party guidelines for political life and, economically, have seriously violated laws and regulations. They definitely cannot be promoted, and those that presently remain in leadership circles or occupy positions of leadership must be firmly removed. (2) Criminal activities that seriously damage the economy must be strongly attacked. Efforts must be concentrated on the big, important cases, without regard for which unit is involved or how high the positions of those involved. All cases must be handled impartially, giving full weight to the law, without allowing anyone to show favor to, plead for or shield criminals. When the law is violated, we must pursue those responsible without exception. (3) We must criticize and instruct those who "shift from agricultural to nonagricultural work" in violation of regulations, and in principle we must return all of them to their original work. Some must bear legal responsibility. We cannot allow people to be let off with a warning "not to let it happen again." (4) We must deal seriously with those who use their positions and authority to occupy land and build private homes and ensure that they make economic restitution within a limited period. Illegal income from the sale of illegal private homes must be seized by the state. (5) In all instances where policy regulations have not been followed, such as collective workers shifting to state-run jobs, workers becoming cadres, and peasants entering the cities and registering in state-run or collective enterprises, the original situation shall be restored. (6) Any cadres who act improperly in regard to housing and who incur the intense displeasure of the masses must be thoroughly investigated and made to consciously reform.



## Adherence to Party Principle

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 12 Jun 82 p 1

[Text] If we say that the 10 years of unrest left a number of "sequelae" in the minds of cadres, then "watching which way the wind blows" is one of the more common of them. Although this malady has been controlled to a great extent through several years of quelling chaos and restoring order, some cadres still have recurrent outbreaks at times, especially when a new principle or policy is brought out.

One expression of this is: when a document from the party Central Committee arrives, they do not seriously study it first, repeatedly researching in an effort to understand deeply the true spirit behind it, but rather earnestly set about checking into the "backing" it has and its "background," or read between the lines to guess whether the atmosphere above is "implement" or "withdraw," "antileft" or "antiright."

A second expression of this is: when deciding on concrete measures for realizing policies, they do not devote their primary energy to surveying the actual conditions and the desires of the masses in the local area, but rather to "clarifying" the tendency, temper and mood of those at a higher level and then acting in accordance with their likes and dislikes, without regard to what is correct.

A third expression of this is: they have no interest in what is written in documents, printed in newspapers and broadcast over the airwaves, nor do they read, listen to or believe it, while they relish insubstantial rumors, not only believing them completely, but also spreading them widely as though they were evidence of policy.

This sort of "watching the wind" which replaces scientific analysis with subjective conjecture inevitably misinterprets and distorts party policy, or, to put it in colloquial terms, misreads the scriptures. For example, the public issuance of the "Summary of the National Conference on Rural Work" by the party Central Committee was clearly intended to further the penetrating implementation of rural policies adopted since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, but some overzealous people took it to be a signal to "withdraw" and were eager to "make corrections." The party Central Committee pointed out that agriculturally we must be resolute in placing primary emphasis on the planned economy, with market adjustments being supplementary, and this was clearly intended to hasten the development of the rural economy in a healthy direction, but some people thought it meant to restore "taking food grain to be the key" [placing primary emphasis on the production of foodstuffs], and they would not even dare to speak of promoting diversification. When the party Central Committee launched the idea of attacking serious criminal activities in the economic realm, the object of struggle was originally very clear, but some people nonetheless believed that this suggested seizing wealth, equating peasants who earned through diligent labor with economic criminal elements. Examples of this kind are numerous. Watching the winds tends to stir up the winds. In the previous period, in

implementing policies, instances of deviating from the spirit of the party Central Committee and vacillating between left and right appeared in individual areas, and we cannot but admit that this was related to the fact that some cadres incorrectly read the direction of the wind. Even though such conditions were corrected relatively promptly, they still should teach us a profound lesson.

The malady of "watching which way the wind blows," of course, has deep historical and social origins, but why has it continued until now to persistently befall certain comrades? There can only be two reasons: One is that their ideological lines are incorrect. They are accustomed to using a "leftist" or rightist perspective in dealing with party policies and always hope that the policies will change in the direction they desire. As a result, when they see the treetops quiver, they suspect that a strong wind is coming. The second is that selfish ideas and personal considerations cause problems. Sometimes, the comrades are not really confused but are merely afraid that they cannot keep up with "circumstances," afraid that they might offend their superiors, afraid to face dangerous winds, and so they toss the principle of seeking truth from facts to one side and go wherever the wind blows.

Since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party Central Committee has established a set of rural policies which the people have taken to heart. Bringing these excellent policies to fruition is the serious political task of the rural cadres at every level. This not only requires a firm and unwavering political standpoint, but also an honest scientific attitude, allowing for no self-serving trickery. We must truly concentrate efforts on studying and comprehending the spirit of the party Central Committee and on penetrating reality, penetrating the masses and carrying out research. By getting a firm hold on these two items, we can feel assured, knowing the road to follow and the methods to use in our work. Under any conditions, we can begin with reality and "sit securely in our fishing boat, despite rising winds and waves." Otherwise, we will be glancing about all day long, constantly watching the winds and trimming our sails, until one day we finally lose our way.

"Watching to see which way the wind blows" harms issues, harms the people and harms the nation. We cannot continue to support ourselves by "watching the winds."

#### Four Basic Thoughts

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jun 82 p 1

[Text] The provincial basic-level party organization construction experience exchange conference for those carrying out capital construction on the industry and communications battlefield which concluded on 20 June requested that party organizations at every level move ahead in getting a proper hold on the reorganization and construction of basic-level party organizations, seeing to it that our party members truly become qualified party members and that cadres are qualified to do their work and ensuring that the party



committees and branches in enterprises truly become the leading nuclei and battle fortresses in revolution and construction.

The conference stressed that being a qualified Communist Party member or cadre requires establishing four basic thoughts: firmly establish communist thought, always remembering the large communist goals and upholding the use of the system of communist ideology to examine and handle problems; firmly establish the idea of maintaining political unanimity with the party Central Committee, resolutely and thoroughly implementing the line, principles and policies established since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee and daring to firmly struggle against all actions that violate the four fundamental principles; firmly establish the concept of wholeheartedly serving the people, correctly balancing the interests of the state, the collective and the individual, overcoming every form of individualist thinking and consciously supporting the interests of the party and the state; and firmly establish the concept that class struggle continues to exist under the new situation, profoundly recognizing the seriousness, harmfulness and criticalness of crime in the economic realm and the necessity and importance of developing this struggle and being a firm, clear-thinking, active Marxist.

This conference commended the 147 advanced party branches, 70 advanced party groups and 276 excellent party members that have surged forth in the construction of the two civilizations. The conference requested that those doing capital construction on the industry and communications battlefield seriously study, publicize and spread their advanced achievements and experiences.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### REVISED CONSTITUTION DRAFT EXPANDS MINORITY AREAS' AUTONOMY

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 28 May 82 p 2

[Article by Ma Qingnian [7456 7230 1628]: "The Revised Constitution Draft Has Expanded the Right of Autonomy of Minority Nationality Regions"]

[Text] The "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China" strengthens the regional autonomy of minority nationalities and expands the right of autonomy of the minority autonomous areas. This provides a legal guarantee for speeding up the development of the economy and culture of our country's minority nationality areas, and fills the people of all nationalities in our area with confidence and strength.

Our country is a unified nation of many nationalities; aside from the Han nationality, there are over 50 minority nationalities spread over the vast area of our motherland. Putting the regional autonomy of minorities into effect in places where there are concentrations of minority nationalities has been the policy of our party all along; it is a basic guiding policy of our party and state in solving the nationality question. At the same time, in the concrete circumstances existing in our country, it is also most in accord with the common aspirations and advantage of the various nationalities. The past more than 30 years of history have clearly proven that only by resolutely implementing this great political guiding policy and conscientiously putting this system into effect will we be able to mobilize the enthusiasm of the people of the various nationalities, take the national and local characteristics of minority areas into consideration, guarantee the minorities' right of equality to be the true masters of their own fate and manage their own minority areas' affairs, and further consolidate and develop unity among the nationalities and the unification of the nation.

The revised draft of the constitution has strengthened the regional autonomy of minorities and expanded the right of autonomy of the minority autonomous areas. In our 1954 constitution there were altogether six articles dealing with the regional autonomy of minorities; in the 1975 constitution there remained only one article; this was increased to three in the constitution of 1978; it is increased to 11 articles in the revised draft of the constitution that has now been promulgated. Not only has the number of provisions increased, but the content has also been filled out. The draft first of all restores the right of autonomy of minority areas that was

stipulated in the 1954 constitution, i.e., the right of autonomy to manage the finances of their own area within the limits stipulated in the law; the right of autonomy to formulate regulations regarding autonomy and other specific regulations in accordance with the political, economic, and cultural characteristics of the local nationality; and, in accordance with the state's military system and the local area's actual needs, and with the approval of the State Council, public security troops can be organized in the local areas to protect social order. On this basis, the revised draft of the constitution also expands the right of autonomy of the minority autonomous areas; stipulates that the posts of chairman of minority areas, head of prefecture of autonomous prefectures, and county magistrate of autonomous counties will be filled by minority personnel in the implementation of regional autonomy; stipulates the right of autonomy to have the autonomous organizations of the various minority autonomous areas implement the nation's laws and policies on the basis of the local areas' actual circumstances; stipulates the right of the autonomous organizations of the minority autonomous areas, under the direction of state planning, to manage economic construction enterprises of a local nature in an autonomous manner; and stipulates the right of the minority autonomous areas' autonomous organizations to manage the enterprises of their own areas' education, science, culture, hygiene, and physical education; protect and set in order the minority's cultural heritage; and develop and cause to flourish the excellent aspects of the minority cultures. The revised draft of the constitution at the same time also makes detailed stipulations regarding the training of minority cadres and all kinds of professional talent and technical workers to help the minority areas to speed up the development of their economic and cultural construction. This strengthening and expansion of the right of autonomy in minority areas embodies the complete confidence and respect of the party and the state for the peoples of all the minority nationalities; fully manifests the great interest and concern of the party and the state in the enterprise of economic and cultural construction in minority areas; is completely in line with the common aspirations and advantages of the peoples of all the minorities; and is a symbol of the strength and development of our country's system of autonomy for minority regions. This possesses great and far-reaching significance for mobilizing the people of various nationalities to carry out the building of the four modernizations together and for promoting the greater unity of the people of all the nationalities on the basis of socialism. As Marx said: "If we would cause all the nationalities to unite truly, it must be to their common advantage." The revised constitution draft's strengthening and expansion of the right of autonomy of regional areas precisely reflects and represents the common aspirations and advantage of all the minorities.

But during the period of the 10 years of internal turmoil, the nation's great basic law became an empty document. And the party's and the state's consistent policy of autonomy for minority areas also became empty words. The minority question was completely made into a matter of class struggle. The freedom of religious worship was expropriated and normal religious activities were suppressed, and certain healthy customs and practices among the minority nationalities were trampled on. The united front that is one of the "three magic weapons" of our party was also denounced as being a line

of surrender that "only unified, without combating." The people of all nationalities were made to suffer unprecedented insult and calamity. In order for the minority areas' right of autonomy to be exercised correctly, we must clearly recognize that our regional autonomy for minority areas is an autonomy within the great united family of the motherland, under the premise of maintaining the four basic principles, and particularly under the unified leadership of the party Central Committee, and is not an independent-type "league of nationalities" or "right of national autonomy" that departs from basic principles and the party's programs and policies. Our autonomy for minorities is a regional autonomy based in areas where minority nationalities dwell in concentrated settlements, and not simply "minority autonomy" separate from any definite area. Also, if we want the right of autonomy of minority areas to be exercised correctly, then we must do a good job of building unity among the nationalities; since we want to do a good job of uniting minority nationalities with the Han nationality, we must also do a good job of building internal unity among the minority nationalities.

If we want the right of autonomy of minority areas to be exercised correctly, then the crux of the matter will be to stress, and spare no effort in training, a contingent of minority cadres, gradually creating the numbers appropriate to the populations of the various nationalities; it will not do merely to create a few representatives. On the one hand we must step up the training of presently existing minority cadres and give them an opportunity to deepen their education both with regard to the study of theory and professional knowledge. On the other hand, it is even more important to stress the training of those minority cadres who are resolute in implementing the party's programs and policies, intimately connected with the masses, good at studying problems, good at investigating, researching, and solving problems, and have considerable cultural and scientific knowledge and professional expertise. We must also promote those among them who have considerable organizational ability, have both high moral character and talent, and are supported by the people, i.e., outstanding middle-aged and younger minority cadres who conform to our ideal of being revolutionary, youthful, knowledgeable, and professional, to various levels of leadership position; we must create the proper conditions for them, and enable them, while at their posts, to work out good policies for us. "We should not merely pick up the key without knowing how to open the door." We must educate them to be able to be both an "official" and one of the common people--to be able, "as an official," to be in charge of the people and, as common people, to share the burden of the state. Only in this way will we be able not to violate the great trust and expectations of the party and the people, enable the minority nationalities to be the real masters of their fate, and truly cause the right of autonomy of minority areas to be exercised. If we want the right of autonomy of minority areas to be exercised correctly, then our focus of attention must be to make a great effort to develop economic and cultural construction in minority areas. Due to generation after generation of rule by reactionary classes, the exploitation and oppression suffered by our minority nationalities was especially serious, and for this reason their economy and culture is particularly backward. Added to this were the 10 years of internal turmoil and the interference and ruin wrought by the error of "leftism," which caused the development of the

minorities' economy and culture, then in progress, to slow down. In addition, the politics, economy, and culture of the minority nationality areas all have their own characteristics. The revised draft of the constitution takes these characteristics into account and clearly stipulates the financial, material, and technological assistance necessary to enable the various minority nationalities to speed up their economic and cultural construction. As for our own Hui Nationality Autonomous Area here in Ningxia, since its foundation in 1958 the amount of financial subsidies the state has given to our area has represented a very large proportion of the autonomous area's total income, and if the state had not offered such great assistance and support, then the development of all kinds of construction enterprises in our autonomous area would not be as great or as rapid as it is now. However, our minority nationality areas absolutely cannot rest on the body of the state; we definitely must go all out to make the country strong, combine state assistance with the ability to regenerate ourselves through self-reliance, do a good job of managing our own affairs, and get on with our area's economic construction as quickly as possible. We must display a spirit of struggling in the face of difficulties; pay attention to the economy and make a great effort to accumulate construction capital; and do our utmost to diminish the burden of the state. In addition, the culture, education, science, hygiene, and physical education are still very backward in the majority of minority nationality areas. The party and the state are extremely concerned about this problem, but comrades in our minority nationality areas have tended not to give the matter enough attention. From now on we must definitely adopt some particular measures, and get on with the enterprise of culture and education for the entire area, particularly the southern mountainous area where there is a concentration of the Hui nationality. At present we must place emphasis on getting a good hold on making primary education universal and doing a good job of our higher school education.

I firmly believe that if the revised draft of the constitution is subjected to a discussion by all of the people, and particularly by the people of the various minority nationalities, those portions relating to the autonomy of minority areas will be revised even more perfectly. Then, after the National People's Congress has formally deliberated over it and passed it, it will not only possess important actual significance, but deep and far-reaching historical significance for protecting the rights of equality of the various nationalities; promoting greater unity among all the nationalities; and promoting the political advancement, economic prosperity, cultural flourishing, and popular wellbeing of the minority nationality autonomous areas.



## PARTY AND STATE

### BRIEFS

NEI MONGGOL CPPCC MEETING--The fourth Nei Monggol Regional CPPCC Committee held its 17th standing committee meeting from 26 to 30 July. The meeting listened to the guidelines of the 19th session of the fifth National CPPCC Committee Standing Committee relayed by Wang Zaitian, vice chairman of the Regional CPPCC Committee. The meeting also discussed the draft of the revised CPPCC regulations and rules. Participants in the meeting unanimously held that the draft of the revised CPPCC regulations and rules have summed up the experiences on the work of China's united front and the CPPCC committee gained in the past 30 years and are more explicit, substantial and better than the former ones. Attending the meeting were Kui Bi, chairman of the Regional CPPCC Committee; and Peng Sike, Sun Lanfeng, Zhou Beifeng, Wu Daping, Zhao Zhanshan, Yang Lingde, Na-qin Shuang-He-er, Liang Yiming and Wang Haishan, vice chairmen of the Regional CPPCC Committee. [SK312230 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 30 Jul 82 SK]

FUJIAN CPPCC SESSION--The 15th session of the standing committee of the Fujian Provincial CPPCC Committee concluded on 6 August in Fuzhou. The session discussed the draft revised charter of the CPPCC and heard a report on the work of the provincial CPPCC committee for the first half of this year. It was decided to set up, under the provincial CPPCC committee, three subcommittees for economic, science and technology and education work respectively. Wu Hongxiang, chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee, presided over the session. [Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 6 Aug 82 OW]

HUNAN MANUAL FOR CADRES--The theoretical education division of the propaganda department of the Hunan Provincial CCP Committee has recently completed the compilation of a manual for rural cadres. This manual, which is going to be published soon, was compiled according to the spirit of the party's documents and directives concerning rural work issued since the third plenary session. It covers those fields such as principles and guidelines for rural work, economic policies, common knowledge of law, management and administration, production techniques, organizational construction, building of spiritual civilization, population control, and so on. [HK090857 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Aug 82 HK]

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### NINGXIA MILITARY DISTRICT HOLDS MILITARY REVIEW

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 5 Jun 82 pp 1-2

[Article by staff correspondent and staff reporter: "Pushing Forward Our Army's Drive Toward Revolutionization, Modernization, and Regularization"]

[Text] In order to thoroughly implement the directive of the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee, to report to the party and people the results of the revolutionary armed forces' drive to swiftly modernize and regularize, and to push forward the drive of our army toward revolutionization, modernization, and regularization, there was held yesterday morning in the Ningxia Military District a grand military review and marchpast. Senior officers of the Langzhou Units and party and government leaders of the autonomous region and Yinchuan reviewed the Liberation Army units stationed in Ningxia. Du Yide, commander of the Langzhou Units, and Li Xuezhi, first secretary of the autonomous region party committee and first political commissar of Ningxia Military District, reviewed the units from an open car. Du Yide made a speech when reviewing the troops.

The newly decorated reviewing ground was imposing and solemn. Hanging from the middle of the reviewing stand was a "1 August" ["Army Day," anniversary of the founding of the PLA] army flag, and on the two sides of the stand 30 resplendent red flags fluttered in the breeze. On the east, south, and north sides huge posters read "Struggle hard to build a powerful modernized, regularized revolutionary armed forces," "Strict training, strict demands," and "Be idealistic, moral, cultured, disciplined revolutionary fighters." Standing at the eastern quarter and the southern, northern, western sides of the reviewing stand were the officers and men, wearing blackish green steel helmets, who were to be reviewed.

At precisely 0900 hours, the solemn military review began. Du Yide and Li Xuezhi boarded the open reviewing car and circled the reviewing ground once, inspecting 23 square formations composed of infantrymen, artillerymen, and armored force men. Du Yide made a speech to the soldiers being reviewed. He said that at present our country's situation is excellent and that the party's line, principles, and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee are guiding the entire party, the entire army, and the people of the entire country to continuously win new victories on each front. In his speech, he emphatically pointed out that Mount Jialan is

located on the antihegemonist frontline and is a natural defensive barrier in the northern part of Ningxia. He said that its strategic position is extremely important and that we certainly must cherish, build up, and protect Mount Jialan, turning it into an invincible, impregnable powerful fortress, so that if the enemy dares to commit aggression, he will be engulfed in the boundless ocean of people's war by the united resolve of the Ningxia people. He said the whole body of officers and men must uphold the four basic principles, closely unite around the Party Central Committee, and be models in thoroughly implementing the party's line, principles, and policies; must strengthen their study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, oppose the corrosion of capitalist ideology, and be honored pacesetters in building a socialist spiritual civilization; must strengthen strategic work, conduct good education and training, conscientiously and thoroughly implement the system of ordinances, rules, and regulations, foster an excellent combat style and strict organizational discipline, and continuously improve the combat effectiveness of the units; must further display the glorious traditions of the people's armed forces, tighten the army-government, army-people relations, strengthen national unity, do good militia building, and further consolidate and strengthen the great wall of steel against aggressive war; and must do all jobs in a down-to-earth fashion, continuously sum up experiences, work hard to improve work efficiency, and accelerate the preparations against aggressive war in order to make great contributions to building our army into a modernized, regularized revolutionary armed force for defending the great socialist motherland and the construction of the four modernizations.

At 0916 hours, to the strains of majestic martial music, the marchpast began. With a "1 August" military flag in front, the square formations being reviewed, to the resonant strains of martial music, passed the reviewing stand in parade step. In heroic posture and with high morale, they shouted slogans as they marched forward with big strides. Following them, artillery pieces, armored cars, and tanks drove slowly, one by one, past the reviewing stand. In the twinkling of an eye, three echelon formations of planes of the air unit flew, one echelon after another, across the sky above the reviewing ground. Up in the sky and on the ground below, the mighty heroic posture and the energetic pace showed the steel-like fighting spirit of the units in making big strides toward modernization and regularization, and unfolded a brand-new scene of the units, under the party's leadership, carrying on and displaying the glorious revolutionary traditions, strengthening education and training, and continuously enhancing their military and political quality and their fighting ability.

Also taking part in the review were the following leading comrades of the party, government, and army of the Lanzhou Units, the autonomous region, and Yinchuan Municipality: Chen Hong [7115 1347], Wu Shengrong, Ma Xin, Hei Boli [7815 0130 3810], Liu Guangfu [0491 0342 3940], Lin Jigui [2651 1015 6311], Shen Xiaoceng [3747 2400 2582], Li Yunhe [2621 1926 0735], Ma Qingnian, Wang Jinzhang [3769 6855 3864], Ping Mao [7458 5399], and others.

Also watching the military review and marchpast were responsible persons of the units concerned of the autonomous region and Yinchuan Municipality as well as over 10,500 people of various nationalities in Yinchuan Municipality.



## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### LIU HUAQING ON LIU BOCHENG'S MILITARY SKILLS

HK281151 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jul 82 p 5

[Article by Liu Huaqing (0491 5478 3237): "Reading 'How Liu Bocheng Directed Military Operations'"]

[Text] In order to help the vast numbers of commanders and fighters and particularly the young commanders and fighters study the military thinking of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, inherit and carry forward the glorious traditions of our army and study and draw from the successful experiences of the history of operations of our army, thoroughly explore the new art of military operations which is suited to the needs of a modern war and accelerate the revolutionization, modernization and standardization program of our army, the Fighter Publishing House has recently published the book "How Liu Bocheng Directed Military Operations" which was edited by Comrade Liu Huaqing and Chen Feiqin.

Over more than half a century, our army has grown out of nothing, from being small to large and being weak to strong and at long last achieved victory in the people's war and founded new China. All this was achieved under the guidance of Mao Zedong's military thinking. Mao Zedong's military thinking is an advanced military scientific system which combines the military theory of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolutionary wars. It contains the wisdom and assiduous creation of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. During the protracted revolutionary wars, Comrade Liu Bocheng profoundly studied the theories of famous ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign military scientists, organized and directed the army to fight many large-scale and victorious battles and created many famous battles, accumulated countless experiences in directing military operations and thus made extremely great contributions in enriching Mao Zedong's military thinking. The veteran proletarian revolutionaries, such as Chairman Mao and Commander in Chief Zhu, had great confidence in and admiration for Comrade Liu Bocheng. The CCP Central Committee and Chairman Mao highly regarded and praised the achievements which Comrade Liu Bocheng and Deng Xiaoping made in leading the 129th division in opening up the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan anti-Japanese base area and in developing and expanding our army during the initial stage of the war of resistance against Japan. They particularly praised the Shangdang, Pinghan, Longhai and Dingtao campaigns which they directed and a series of military operations which they directed in leading the large contingents of our army in boldly driving into

the Yellow Mountains and successively fighting in different parts of the Central Plains during the early days of the liberation war. Comrade Zhu De praised Comrade Liu Bocheng, saying: "He is not only brave and skillful as well as wise and full of stratagems but also of great attainments in military theory and has achieved numerous creative feats. He possesses the qualities of an armyman, such as humanity, trustworthiness, resourcefulness, courage and strictness and also the styles of ancient famous generals. He is a rare talent among the general in our country." Recently Comrade Xu Xiangjian further pointed out: "Comrade Liu Bocheng is a famous military scientist and also a military theoretician. He has written a number of military works which mirror the experiences of our army and with their own incisive originality, they similarly constitute the precious wealth of our army. They should be systematized, studied and mastered by us all."

"How Liu Bocheng Directed Military Operations" is a good book for summing up and studying Liu Bocheng's art of military operation. It records the process and experiences of Comrade Liu Bocheng in directing military operations during the revolutionary war. The book is a collection of 30 articles. The first half of the book are articles which mainly record and narrate the mobile warfare and guerrilla warfare and its second half are mainly theoretically expository articles. The whole book represents in great detail more than 30 major campaigns and battles which were personally directed by Comrade Liu Bocheng during the stages of the war of resistance against Japan and the liberation war. The authors of the articles are all commanders and staff personnel who fought north and south on many [word indistinct] in those years under the command of Liu [Bocheng] and Deng [Xiaoping]. Having a better and more profound understanding of Comrade Liu Bocheng's art of war and astuteness and resourcefulness, they discuss Comrade Liu Bocheng's art of military operation and his characteristics in directing military operations from different angles in the form of memoirs or study notes.

Comrade Liu Bocheng worked with Comrade Deng Xiaoping for a long period in jointly leading and directing the military operations of the 129th Division and later the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan field army. Therefore, the experiences of Comrade Liu Bocheng in directing military operations in this historical stage naturally embodies Comrade Deng Xiaoping's military thinking. In fact, many strategic principles for campaigns, operational plans and operational actions were jointly formulated and directed by the two of them. Comrade Deng Xiaoping very often singly and personally went to the front and commanded the operations. For example, during February and March 1940, in the first anti-communist upsurge started by the KMT, Chiang Kai-shek ordered his 47th Army commanded by Zhu Huaibin and other troops, by advancing along three routes, to attack the Daihang areas which were under our control. At that time, Comrade Deng Xiaoping personally went to the forward positions and directed the troops in striking relentless blows at the stubborn invading enemy army and annihilated three enemy divisions of the troops of Zhu Huaibin and others. As a result, the base areas were consolidated and developed. Sometimes, they separately led an army and fought in different battles and jointly fulfill the campaign plan. In the struggle to reestablish

the base areas in the Dabie Mountains, there emerged a situation like this: at the end of November 1947, the enemy concentrated 33 brigades and launched attacks and mopping-up operations against key sectors of the Dabie Mountains. In order to thoroughly smash the enemy's plans for mopping-up operations, on the one hand, political commissar Deng Xiaoping led the small-sized front headquarters and directed the main force of the Central Plain Field Army to stay in the interior lines to carry out guerrilla warfare. On the other hand, Commander Liu Bocheng led the rear headquarters and some of the troops in moving to the areas south of the Huaihe River and directed the various brigades on exterior lines to attack the enemy and forced the enemy, which has been attacking the Dabie Mountains, to withdraw its forces to take care of its rear. At that time many operational directives which were made by comrades Deng Xiaoping, were all signed and issued in the name of Liu and Deng. So, we can fully regard the experiences in the military operations in the various campaigns which were jointly conducted by senior officers Liu and Deng as a crystallization of their collective wisdom. Of course, Comrade Liu Bocheng is a military commander. The experiences included in the book "How Liu Bocheng Directed Military Operations" still mainly reflect his military thinking.

After reading the book, which of his commanding techniques can we learn from Comrade Liu Bocheng?

The art of military operation of Comrade Liu Bocheng first of all is manifested in his overall conduct of battles and highly competent leadership. He had made a serious and earnest study of the strategic principles and the operational plans for campaigns formulated by the CCP Central Committee and the military commission of the CCP Central Committee, the whole situation of war and his part and the strategic situation of both the enemy and ourselves, knew like the back of his hand the strategic attempts, orientation and plans of both the enemy and ourselves. He could objectively foresee the course of the development of the war and firmly keep the initiative in war. When our army launched each campaign, he not only gave consideration to the aim which should be attained in this campaign but also took into account the campaign which should be carried out next and the question of how to make concerted efforts to coordinate with the operations of the friendly forces in other regions throughout the country. The several articles, such as "Storming Handan at Night Three Times, Launching Attacks Against the Longhai Trunk Railway Three Times" written by Comrade Li Da, "A Good Move in the Overall Situation" by Comrade Li Desheng as well as "A Chronicle of the Shandang Campaign" and "On Making a Resolution" conspicuously mirror this artistic characteristic of military operation of Comrade Liu Bocheng. The article written by Comrade Li Da especially makes a detailed introduction on the course of struggle of the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan field army during October 1945 to July 1947. In a short period of no more than 2 years, under the command of Comrades Liu Bocheng and Deng Xiaoping, our army succeeded in launching the Pinghan, Linghai, Dingtao, Juye, Juannan, Hua County, Hu (Ye)-Jin(Xiang)-Yu(Tai) campaigns, the Henan-Anhui border campaign as well as the northern Henan counterattack operation and the southwest Shandong campaign. From these campaigns, we can clearly see how Comrade Liu Bocheng directed the military operations in an overall manner. Tearing up the "ceasefire

agreement" and launching a civil war, in June 1946 Chiang Kai-shek besieged our liberated areas in the Central Plains with massive forces and at the same time, stepped up attacks against our liberated areas in northern Jiangsu Province. In order to support, by coordinated action, the Central Plain troops in making a breakthrough and the operations in northern Jiangsu Province, senior officers Liu and Deng received orders to lead the main force of the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan field army in launching an attack against the enemy stationed along the Kaifeng-Xuzhou line of the Longhai Trunk Railway, thus attacking Longhai for the first time. During January and February 1947, in order to coordinate with the Laiwu campaign launched by our East China Field Army, to pin down the enemy and check the enemy's relief forces going to the east to take part in the operation, Comrade Liu Bocheng led the first, second and third brigades as the operational group army north of the Longhai Trunk Railway and Comrade Deng Xiaoping led the sixth and seventh brigades as well as the armed forces of the Henan-Anhui-Jiangsu command as the operational group army south of the trunk railway. They separately launched military operations and annihilated the enemy in Dingtao, Dan and Cao counties, Minquan, Shangqiu and Zhecheng, Taikang, Luyu and Qi and Hao counties, thus attacking Longhai for the second time. Judged the situation as a whole from a strategic point of view, the aim of the two attacks against the Longhai Trunk Railway was to cooperate with the operations launched by our friendly forces and to pin down the enemy. With great foresight, senior officers Liu and Deng clearly saw the inevitable trend of our army shifting to a strategic counteroffensive. Before the implementation of the strategic counteroffensive, they ascertained beforehand the topography, the enemy's situation and the condition of the people of the areas of the Longhai Trunk Railway and the new areas east of and north of the Huaihe River and made preparations for strengthening the work of the new areas east of the Huaihe River, later to be called the Henan-Anhui-Jiangsu command, and for establishing positions for future advance. According to Comrade Deng Xiaoping's words at that time, it was called "exploring the way," that is ascertaining the way for the future shift to a strategic counteroffensive and diverting the war into the Chiang Kai-shek-controlled areas. At that time, the people only focused their attention on the results on the battlefield and the immediate strategic role of the Longhai and Henan-Anhui border campaigns and few people saw their great significance of our army shifting to a strategic counteroffensive. In July 1947, our army shifted to a counteroffensive. The CCP Central Committee chose the Dabie Mountains area as the key sectors of its strategic offensive and ordered the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan field army to make a breakthrough in the center of the areas, attack Longhai for the third time and directly thrust into the Dabie Mountains. With the experiences of the previous two attacks against Longhai, senior officers Liu and Deng had a complete grasp of the enemy's strategic plans and operational characteristics and launched drive-straight-in and leaping forward operations, thus enabling our army to achieve a great victory. This fully demonstrates that senior officers Liu and Deng were strategically farsighted in directing military operations. While marching into the great southwest, with the overall situation at heart, senior officers Liu and Deng saw that the Hu Zongnan troops and large numbers of the routed KMT troops which beat a precipitated retreat to Sichuan and



Guizhou provinces would retreat to Yunnan and then flee to other countries. They boldly directed the 4th Army of our second field army to make a direct thrust into Yunnan Province from Guangxi Province and ordered the 3d and 5th Army groups of the second field army to directly thrust into Guizhou Province and the southwestern Sichuan Province through Hunan Province. They engaged in an operation of massive outflanking and encirclement and cut off the enemy's retreat and encircled several hundred thousand enemy troops in coordination with the contingents of our army advancing south from Shaanxi and Gansu provinces and with those advancing west from Hubei Province and completely wiped out the enemy in the Chengdu areas of western Sichuan Province. As a result, we achieved the final victory in the campaign and fulfilled the task of liberating the great southwest.

Flexibly annihilating the enemy is another aspect of the art of military operation of Comrade Liu Bocheng. Many articles in the book "How Liu Bocheng Directed Military Operations," such as "Storming Handan at Night Three Times, Launching Attacks Against the Longhai Trunk Railway Three Times," "Giving the Enemy a Back Thrust in the Juannan campaign," "Flexible Tactical Thinking Shines With Dazzling Splendor," "Seek, Create and Strike the Enemy's Weaknesses," "A Successful Battle of Concentrating a Superior Force to Destroy the Enemy One by One" discuss in great detail this characteristic of the art of military operation of Comrade Liu Bocheng. Comrade Liu Bocheng clearly pointed out: "Chairman Mao's science of the people's army is characterized by the fact that those who have nothing at the start will triumph over those who have everything; the few will triumph over the many and the inferior will triumph over the superior. Therefore, flexibility is particularly needed." He maintained that by "flexibility," we mean "seeking the enemy's weaknesses; if it does not have any, we must create weaknesses in the enemy and then concentrate a superior force to assault these weaknesses of theirs and in an appropriate time and under appropriate conditions, we must fulfill the task of launching a flexible attack so that the enemy will not be able to cover up its weaknesses which have been assaulted." That is to say, we must carry out broad flexibility, advance and retreat in great strides, change the situation of both the enemy and ourselves, and in campaigns and tactics, assault the enemy's weaknesses and concentrate a superior force to destroy the enemy one by one. In October 1946, senior officers Liu and Deng summed up the main experiences and lessons of the Juye campaign in good time. Of the experiences, they included "in campaigns, our main force should advance and retreat in great strides. Only thus can it take the enemy by surprise and strike where or when the enemy is unprepared, and thus easily eliminate the enemy one by one"; "the victory in the Longhai operation was the result of the fact that we penetrated the enemy's positions in length and breadth and in great strides and thus yielded results in the surprise attack. In line with these lessons, we are preparing to carry out broad flexibility and to launch attacks where there is opportunities." Following this principle, our army launched the Juannan campaign. At that time, the large contingents of the enemy troops were attacking the areas north of the Huanghe River along three routes. Our army adopted the tactic of attacking the weak while avoiding the strong and making a feint to the east and attacking in the west, and used a small section of troops to confuse and

pin down the enemy troops commanded by Wang Jingjiu which spread in the areas east of the Hongshawo-Jinxiang line. Furthermore, the main force of the second, third and sixth brigades of our army suddenly and secretly marched into the Puyang areas from the areas west of Yuncheng and Juye and were ready to look for an opportunity to wipe out the enemy army group commanded by Sun Zhen which had intruded into the west front of Puyang. When our troops came to the areas northwest of Juancheng, they found that one brigade and another regiment accompanied by a Howitzer battalion and mountain artillery battalion of the enemy central route army under the command by Liu Ruming had rashly advanced to Juancheng from Heze. Senior officers Liu and Deng made a prompt decision to change the original operation plan, seized this favorable opportunity and the right moment to annihilate this weary and isolated enemy. Such outstanding battles of flexibly annihilating the enemy are beyond counting.

Seeking and creating the enemy's weaknesses meant putting an end to the situation in which the enemy was strong and we were weak and turning it into a situation in which the enemy was weak and we were strong. Comrade Liu Bocheng advocated: "If the strong attacks the weak, the former will also become weak. If the weak attacks the strong, the former will also become strong." "Pit the weak against the strong in order to wipe out the weak with the strong. Pit the decentralized against the centralized in order to annihilate the decentralized with the centralized. That is to say, we use our weak forces to wear down the enemy's strong troops so that we can use our strong forces to wipe out the enemy's weak troops. We use our decentralized forces to wear down the enemy's centralized troops so that we can use our centralized forces to wipe out the enemy's decentralized troops." In the practice of war, both in strategy and tactics, he already found a good solution to the question concerning the transformation of the strong and the weak. The Xiangfan campaign recorded and narrated by the article "a good move in the overall situation" was a vivid example. At that time, the defending enemy troops of Xiangfan were located in an area jointly defended by the enemy's troops of Gu Zhutong's group, Bai Zongxi's group and Zhang Zhizhong's group. This state of affairs had its own weak points (as the juncture point of the enemy) but also had its own strong points (could be reinforced in three ways). In order to coordinate our east China field army in its operations in eastern Henan Province, senior officers Liu and Deng resolved to start a powerful offensive in the Hanshui River Valley and launch a campaign against the enemy in Laohekou and Xiangfan to force the Zhang Zhen corps and the whole enemy 18th Army, under the command of Hu Lian, to go westwards to rescue the troops there and, thus, to wear down the enemy's decentralized troops with our centralized forces and isolated the enemy in eastern Henan Province and to ensure that the east China field army could use its centralized forces to wipe out the enemy's decentralized troops. While senior officers Liu and Deng were working out the plan for the campaign, the enemy ordered the whole 18th Army to advance to the north to reinforce its army there. Thus, they decided to put off launching the Xiangfan operation and personally led the main force of the Central Plain Field Army to check, along the Peiping-Hankou Railway, the enemy's Hu Liao Corps and Wu Shaozhou Corps which were going to the north as reinforcements and drew the enemy's 10th Corps which was stationed in the Nanyang areas. In this way, the Xiangfan defending enemy troops fell into an isolated and helpless position and lost their strong points and our army become relatively superior in some areas. Thus our army

captured Xiangfan by surprise and annihilated the defending enemy troops. While [words indistinct] up the experience of the Xiangfan campaign, Comrade Liu Bocheng said: The victory of the Xiangfan campaign "lay in the fact that as the enemy and ourselves were engaged in eastern Henan Province and along the Peiping-Hankou Trunk Railway, the main force of the enemy troops was drawn away and Xiangfan was left isolated as a result. The initial calculation by Chiang (Kai-shek) and Bai (Zongxi) was that our army had no main force left for attacking Xiangfan and Xiangfan could be tenaciously defended. So they dispatched their reinforcements late. Once we captured it, it was already too late for the enemy reinforcements to rescue it." "This is very like the method of playing basketball: while the two parties are interlocked, one player seizes the opportunity to shoot by exploiting an advantage." It can thus be seen that flexibly annihilating the enemy, seeking and creating the enemy's weaknesses and concentrating a superior force to assault the enemy's weaknesses constitute an important reason why Comrade Liu Bocheng was able to be in an invincible position in directing military operations.

The art of military operation of Comrade Liu Bocheng is also manifested in the fact that in light of the actual conditions in which our army was carrying a people's war, he made use of and developed the ancient art of war of our country and created a large number of new commanding techniques. Comrade Liu Bocheng is well-read and has a good command of the works of ancient military strategists. In his practical operations, he could make the past serve the present and has created numerous new commanding techniques. More than 20 examples are enumerated in the book "How Liu Bocheng Directed Military Operations" alone, such as "Absorbing and Annihilating the Enemy Relief Force," "Making a Back Thrust," "A Delaying Tactics," "A Tiger Pulling the Heart Out of a Prey," "Taking Away the Firewood From Under a Cauldron," "Attacking the Enemy for a Single Fault To Absorb Its Relief Force and Gnawing One Side of the Enemy in Order To Destroy It One by One," "Encircling the Three Sides and Leaving One Side Open, So That One Side of the Net Is Open, Leaving a Spurious Way Out and Secretly Having a Pocket," "Attacking Where the Enemy Must Necessarily Come To Rescue In Order To Wipe Out the Enemy Relief Force and Attacking the Enemy Which Will Certainly Retreat While Being Attacked in Order to Annihilate the Enemy Which is Retreating" and the "Snake-beating Tactic" of "Pressing the Head From Both Sides, Pulling At the Tail, Cutting the Waist and Contenting Oneself With Nothing Less Than the Snake's Destruction." At the same time, in accordance with the characteristics of our army, he flexibly utilized and developed the traditional operational methods of our army's guerrilla warfare and mobile warfare and summed up new tactics, such as the "sparrow tactic," "wasp tactic," "wolf's tactic," "laying repeated ambushes," "using a butcher knife to kill a fowl" and "massive outflanking and encirclement." During the war years, while working out the tasks for operations, Comrade Liu Bocheng would talk about tactics, the art of war, and some examples of actual combat to help the commanders at the various levels enhance their wisdom and arouse them to enthusiastically create various new operational methods. Whenever a campaign ended, he would earnestly organize all his subordinates to summarize

the campaign and raw both positive and negative experiences. These tactics and commanding techniques created by Comrade Liu Bocheng are the valuable wealth of our army and will play their proper role in future wars of antiaggression.

In order to closely and scientifically exercise leadership over military affairs, Comrade Liu Bocheng also attached great importance to the headquarters building of our army, so that it could adapt itself to the needs of war. This idea of Comrade Liu Bocheng are suited to war, "on time and space" and "on reconnaissance." Comrade Liu Bocheng maintained: "The headquarters are a commanding organ in which a senior officer exercises leadership over the army. The senior officer must make the headquarters automatically and widely operate under his determination. Meanwhile, the headquarters must attach importance to the powers of the senior officer to make a decision, support him from behind and organize military operations and even supervise their implementation according to the determination of the senior officer." In the early days of the founding of our army, he had defined, both in theory and practice, the correct relationship between the commander and the headquarters. Along with the growth and expansion of our army, Comrade Liu Bocheng keenly felt that the relationship between the staff personnel and the commanders is like the relationship between clouds and rain. He pointed out: "A staff officer is like the clouds and a valiant general is like the rain. Without a cloud, there will be no rain." For this reason, he showed great solicitude for the training of the staff personnel, gave them verbal directions and taught them by his example and expended a great amount of his energies on this purpose. He called being clear about tasks, the enemy's situation, our situation, topography and time "five professional skills" and asked the staff personnel to learn to use these "five professional skills." He specially stressed that the headquarters should first do a good job in such fields of work as reconnaissance, operation, and confidential communications so as to ensure victory in military operations. Today, with the extensive application of new weapons and technology, the unpredictability and complexity of war have become more conspicuous. Operational actions may possibly be carried out simultaneously on the land, on the sea and in the air. This requires the commanding organs to make prompt responses and sets new higher demands on the farsightedness, planning, scientific nature, flexibility and stability of the headquarters work. Without a headquarters organ which is suited to the characteristics of a modern war, at ordinary times, we will be unable to manage, educate and train the troops and make war preparations in a fairly satisfactory way in the light of the needs of a modern war; at war times, we will be unable to exercise timely, accurate and constant leadership and ensure victory in the war. Therefore, accelerating the modernization and standardization program of the headquarters is a major task of our army building. We must earnestly study and apply the expositions of Comrade Liu Bocheng concerning the building of the headquarters work of our army and do a good job in the building of the headquarters at the various levels ideologically, organizationally, professionally and in work style and improve our work efficiency.



The art of military operation of Comrade Liu Bocheng is quite superb. However, he is fully aware that in winning victory in a war, it is not possible to solely depend on individual abilities. Instead we must depend on and give play to the strength of all personnel, because the war is a large-scale armed struggle between different political groups of mankind, rather than an individual action. Therefore, he held: "To ensure victory in a war, we must have two factors: one is morale and the other is the art of war"; "fighting will and methods of struggle (tactics) are the handles for directing military operations. We must be good at implementing and using them. Without fighting will, everything else will be out of the question. Furthermore, we will possibly be in danger of being completely routed. "That is to say, if our troops do not have any morale or their morale is not high or in other words, their political zeal is low, they will inevitably be defeated. Therefore, he not only paid attention to raising the military qualities of the troops but also paid more attention to boosting the morale of the troops. At all times, he always stressed the strengthening of ideological and political work and aroused the revolutionary zeal of the troops through thoroughgoing, painstaking and powerful ideological and political work so that the troops would maintain high morale and indomitable fighting will. Particularly in the war years, when the armed strength of both the enemy and ourselves was greatly weakened, fighting will and morale contest became more important: the party whose morale was low would be finally defeated and the party whose morale was high would achieve the final victory. Therefore, he believed that "the success or failure of war depends on the combination of political strength and technical force." While studying Comrade Liu Bocheng's art of military operation and his experience in directing military operations, we must pay particular attention to this idea of his.

Comrade Li Bocheng is a highly honored veteran proletarian revolutionary. Studying and mastering the military thinking of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation is a task of great significance.

The book "How Liu Bocheng Directed Military Operations" has reached the vast numbers of readers. We must thank the authors of the articles for reviewing and discussing Comrade Liu Bocheng's brilliant idea about military operations, from which we will be able to gain considerable benefits. I hope you comrades will write more and better articles which will sum up the experiences of our army in its operations and leave priceless treasure for our coming generations.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### BRIEFS

YUNNAN ARMED POLICE MEETING--On the afternoon of 28 July, the Yunnan Provincial People's Armed Police Force held a gathering in the hall of the provincial public security department to mark the 55th anniversary of the founding of the PLA. The meeting was presided over by (Le Ningchao), political commissar of the general brigade. Comrade (Kang Hongdi), head of the general brigade gave a report on carrying forward the glorious traditions of the people's armed forces and accelerating the building of the people's armed police force. In his report, Comrade (Kang) reviewed the glorious history of the founding of the people's armed forces and pointed out that it is necessary to take the PLA as an example in building the people's armed police force. It is necessary to inherit and carry forward the glorious traditions of the people's armed forces, incessantly strengthen the ties between the army and the police and between the police and the masses, and turn the people's armed police force into an armed force which is faithful to the party and the people, which observes strict discipline, which is well trained, loved by the masses and held in awe by the enemy and on which the party and the state can rely. [Text] [HK300923 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Jul 82]

NEW STEEL HELMET--Special dispatch from Beijing--Research departments of the Chinese communists' armed forces have designed and successfully trial-manufactured a new type of steel helmet which will be put into overall production and issued to the troops. The performance of this steel helmet is much better than that of the old-type steel helmet formerly provided for the troops. The Headquarters of the General Logistics Department [of the PLA] and the Military Projects Office [6511 1562 6586 0361 1358] of the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry under the State Council recently jointly held an appraisal meeting at which this new-type steel helmet was appraised. The technical performance of the helmet is stable, its bulletproof properties are good, and its external shape is strong and pleasing to the eye. The departments concerned are about to organize its production and issuance to the troops. [Text] [Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 30 Jun 82 p 6] 9727

NEW DEPUTY NAVAL COMMANDER--Beijing, 14 Jun, XINHUA--Ping Hongda [7458 3163 6671], the youngest son of General Ping Yuxiang [7458 3768 4382], was recently promoted to be deputy commander of the Maritime Navigation Protection Department [5300 0202 6752] of the Chinese PLA Navy Headquarters. Ping Hongda was also promoted to be deputy commander of the Maritime Navigation Protection Section [5300 0202 5710] of the North Sea Fleet Headquarters. Ping Hongdu, 52 years old this year, studied naval matters in the Soviet Union and graduated from the Caspian Sea Naval Command School. After returning to China in 1953, he has continuously worked in the People's Navy, successfully holding the posts of chief navigator, deputy captain of a warship, chief professional navigator, and commander of the Maritime Navigation Protection Section of the headquarters of a certain naval base. [Text] [Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 15 Jun 82 p 6] 9727

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